

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ISO-00 IO-13 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AID-05 EB-08 ORM-02
/097 W

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R 151515Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9810
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMCONSUL GOTEBOG UNN
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY GABARONE
AMEMBASSY MBABANE
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0709

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SW, XA, XJ
SUBJECT: SWEDISH POLICY IN AFRICA
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1. SWEDISH MINISTER FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OLA ULLSTEN
DEPARTS FEBRUARY 16 FOR A TWO-WEEK TOUR OF AFRICA WHICH
WILL TAKE HIM TO KENYA (FEB 17-20), TANZANIA (FEB 21-27)
AND ZAMBIA (FEB. 27-MARCH 2). THE PURPOSE OF ULLSTEN'S
TRIP IS PRIMARILY TO MAKE PERSONAL CONTACT ON BEHALF OF
THE NEW SWEDISH GOVERNMENT IN KEY AFRICAN NATIONS, AND

TO GET A FIRST-HAND IMPRESSION OF THE SITUATION FACING THEM. ULLSTEN WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY THE MFA OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, BO HEINEBACK, AND THOUGH FOREIGN AID WILL BE THE FOREMOST TOPIC, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ESPECIALLY ZIMBABWE, WILL INEVITABLY BE DISCUSSED AS WELL.

2. ON THE EVE OF ULLSTEN'S TRIP, THE FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT BY A NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT MINISTER TO AFRICA AND AS SUCH SYMBOLIZING SWEDEN'S CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE CONTINENT IN GENERAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR, THE EMBASSY THINKS IT APPROPRIATE TO REVIEW THE BACKGROUND OF SWEDISH AFRICAN POLICY AND TO ASSESS THE NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

3. SWEDISH INTEREST IN AFRICA HAS ITS ROOTS IN GENERAL EUROPEAN CONCERN WITH THE CONTINENT SINCE THE COLONIAL ERA, COUPLED WITH THE FACT THAT SWEDISH MISSIONARIES HAVE LONG BEEN ACTIVE THERE. THE FIRST AREA OF SWEDISH ACTIVITY WAS EAST AFRICA, AND MORE RECENTLY THE NATURAL LINK BETWEEN THE SEEMINGLY PERPETUAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND THE EMERGING SOCIALIST NATIONS OF AFRICA ENGENDERED TIES WHICH BY NOW HAVE BECOME ESTABLISHED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED.

4. SWEDEN'S SPECIAL INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA RESULTS FROM LONG-HELD OPPOSITION TO THE INJUSTICES OF COLONIAL AND MINORITY RULE IN THE AREA, AND THE EMERGENCE OF "PROGRESSIVE" NATIONS THERE. SWEDEN NOW HAS CLOSE TIES

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WITH ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AND IS BUILDING RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. FIRST AND FOREMOST, HOWEVER, IS TANZANIA, DUE TO THE CLOSE PERSONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FORMER PRIME MINISTER OLOF PALME AND NYERERE. THE PRESENT SWEDISH GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO MFA SOURCES, HOLDS NYERERE, AS A SENSIBLE AND KNOWLEDGEABLE LEADER, IN SIMILARLY HIGH REGARD AS AN AUTHORITATIVE VOICE "FOR AFRICA."

5. SWEDISH ASSISTANCE IS HUMANITARIAN, AND IS PROVIDED IN THE HOPE OF PROMOTING PROGRESS AND ALLEVIATING SUFFERING. ACCORDING TO MFA SOURCES, THE GOS HAS NEVER HAD ANY REASON TO SUSPECT THAT ITS AID IS BEING USED OTHERWISE, AND DOES NOT TRY TO DICTATE POLICY TO AID RECIPIENTS. THE COUNTRIES ON ULLSTEN'S ITINERARY RECEIVED 382 MILLION KRONOR (ABOUT \$90 MILLION) IN DEVELOPMENT AID LAST YEAR, WITH THE LION'S SHARE (KR 250 MILLION OR \$60 MILLION) GOING TO TANZANIA.

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6. "VICTIMS OF COLONIZATION AND APARTHEID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA," TO QUOTE A GOS REPORT, RECEIVE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AS WELL, IN ADDITION TO SWEDISH AID TO THE NATIONS OF THE REGION. HUMANITARIAN AID IS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE REFUGEES HELP WITH EDUCATION AND LEGAL FEES, AS WELL AS TO AID THE NATIONALIST GROUPS; FROM 1968-1976,
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SWEDEN HAS GIVEN SOME 182 MILLION KRONOR (ROUGHLY \$43 MILLION) TO THE REFUGEES AND BLACK MOVEMENTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, INCLUDING 30 MILLION KRONOR (ABOUT \$7 MILLION) LAST YEAR. THE PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1977/78 INCLUDES 35 MILLION KRONOR FOR THE LIBERATION GROUPS, AS WELL AS INCREASES IN AID FOR THE AFRICAN NATIONS.

7. SWEDISH AID TO NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AND REFUGEES IS CHanneled THROUGH VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. IN NAMIBIA, SWEDEN RECOGNIZES SWAPO AS THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL GROUP, AND AS SUCH IT RECEIVES AID IN ADDITION TO SWEDISH FUNDS CONTRIBUTED TO UN ORGANS CONCERNED WITH NAMIBIA. SWEDEN PROVIDES ASSISTANCE TO THE BLACK MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, WHICH THE GOS REGARDS AS HAVING THE MOST CONNECTIONS WITH THE PLETHORA OF DISSIDENT AND OPPOSITION GROUPS WORKING IN THE COUNTRY.

8. ZIMBABWE HAS POSED SPECIAL PROBLEMS, AND SWEDEN HAS HELD BACK MUCH OF ITS AID TO THE LIBERATION GROUPS, NOT FROM LACK OF DESIRE, BUT DUE TO THE CONFUSING SITUATION AMONG THE COMPETING MOVEMENTS. WISHING TO AVOID PLAYING FAVORITES, THE GOS HAS BEEN UNABLE TO FIND A SUITABLE CHANNEL FOR FUNDS. WHAT AID HAS BEEN GIVEN HAS GONE THROUGH THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE, WHICH HAS BEEN LESS THAN IDEAL FROM THE SWEDISH PERSPECTIVE. NOW THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE BACKED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, IT APPEARS TO THE GOS THAT THERE MAY EXIST AN APPROPRIATE CHANNEL, AND THE GOS IS CONSIDERING ITS POSITION. THE VIEWS OF THE OAU AS A WHOLE WILL INFLUENCE THE SWEDISH DECISION ON WHETHER TO PROVIDE AID TO THE PF, DIRECTLY, THOUGH THE BACKING OF THE FRONT LINE STATES, AND TANZANIA IN PARTICULAR, WILL CARRY CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT IN SWEDEN'S DELIBERATIONS. THIS MATTER WILL PRESUMABLY BE DISCUSSED DURING ULLSTEN'S TRIP.

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9. IN PUBLIC AND IN PRIVATE GOS OFFICIALS EXPLAIN THAT SWEDISH POLICY IS INTENDED TO HELP THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS OF AFRICA COPE WITH THE BURDEN THEY BEAR WHILE TRYING TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS. SWEDISH POLICY IS GENERALLY PART OF A NORDIC CONSENSUS WHICH DESIRES SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH AVOID WAR WHILE PROVIDING FOR THE REALIZATION OF BLACK ASPIRATIONS. THE GOS HAD HOPED FOR SUCCESS IN GENEVA, AND IS PLEDGED TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO URGE EARLY RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. MFA OFFICIALS SAY THEY CONTINUALLY POINT OUT THE DANGERS AND COSTS OF WAR AND

THE DESIRABILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE AFRICAN LEADERS, WHO IN TURN EXPLAIN THAT SWEDES MUST UNDERSTAND AFRICAN FEELINGS AFTER SO MANY YEARS OF FRUSTRATION. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT SWEDISH AID TO THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL CONTINUE IN THE EVENT WAR BREAKS OUT, IN THE HOPE OF MITIGATING THE SUFFERING DURING AND AFTER. GOS IS NOW WAITING EXPECTANTLY TO SEE WHAT ROLE THE US CAN AND WILL PLAY IN MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN THE AREA.

10. COMMENT: SWEDISH POLICY IN AFRICA IS SO LONG ESTABLISHED AND WIDELY SUPPORTED THAT IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF PARTY IDEOLOGIES, AND THERE WILL BE LITTLE IF ANY CHANGE IN SWEDISH INTEREST OR POLICY IN AFRICA UNDER THE NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. SWEDISH SUPPORT FOR BLACK DEVELOPMENT AND OPPOSITION TO COLONIAL AND WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT ARE FIRM FIXTURES IN THE SWEDISH WORLD VIEW. IN ADDITION TO POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, SWEDEN ALSO LOOKS TO AFRICA TO PROVIDE NEW MARKETS AND EXPANSION OPPORTUNITIES FOR SWEDISH INDUSTRY, WHICH IS RATHER ACTIVE IN SEEKING OUT NEW POSSIBILITIES. FOLLOWING ULLSTEN'S TRIP, FOREIGN MINISTER SODER WILL ALSO VISIT AFRICA LATER THIS YEAR AS AN INDICATION OF THE IMPORTANCE SWEDEN ATTACHES TO THE CONTINENT. FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT, THERE IS ROOM FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION AND INITIATIVE HERE WHICH IS LACKING TO A GREAT DEGREE IN EUROPE, WHERE RELATIONSHIPS ARE WELL AND FIRMLY ESTABLISHED. BUT AFRICA PROVIDES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EXPANSION OF ACTIVITY AND INFLUENCE FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN A CONTEXT WHICH ALREADY HAS A SOUND FOUNDATION.
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